

A

# REVIEW

OF THE

# STATE

OF THE

# BRITISH NATION.

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Saturday, October 13. 1711.

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**I** Am brought by meer Violence of an Author, *quoting my Paper, and whose Introduction you have in my last*, to enter into a discussion of the probable Condition of a Peace; a certain Author ashamed of his Name, and that ought to be ashamed of his Argument, calls upon me to justify the Language of the Times, which he says, is, *That no Peace can be made, without giving up Spain to the House of Bourbonne*; he might as well call upon me to justify and maintain Transubstantion; for he, nor any Man living, ever heard any Thing like it from me.

But since this Petulant Writer obliges

me to speak, I shall do it, as I do in all Cases, with Plainness and Freedom; for as I desire him to make it out, that I am under any Man's Direction, so I fear none of his Scandal, nor any Man's Censure public or private, where I am sure I am right — I believe my Notions of this Matter may differ a little from both Sides — And our difference lies much in this Question, What do you mean by SPAIN? A Question which People, in the present Debate, hardly permit themselves to think about.

If by SPAIN, you mean *as I do*, the whole undivided Monarchy of Spain, I am so far from being ashamed or afraid of what

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I Printed Septemb. 1. in Review N<sup>o</sup> 69, which this Slanderer has quoted, that I say it again, that to give it up to the House of *Bourbonne*, is a Thing, in my Opinion, so Absurd and Ridiculous, that you ought as soon to give up Ireland to them, &c. as I said before; so that the Impertinent Quoter of this Review, is wholly disappointed in his Quotation. For what I said then, I say again—

BUT I do confess, that if you should ask me on the other Hand, whether I would give up Spain THUS, to the House of *Austria* NOW, where the same Branch who is to possess it, is like to be, or shall be Emperor too? I would answer in the same manner exactly; I explain myself thus.

THE WAR, which has now Embarrass'd Europe, and for Twenty Year has overwhelm'd us in Blood and Desolation, what has it been made for? The pretence has all along been to preserve the Balance of Power—See the Preamble to the Grand Alliance for this; We have not fought against the Person of *Leopold IV.* or against him, as King of *France*, abstractly and merely, *qua King of France*; it was never in our View to Conquer *France*, take away his Crown, and possess his Dominions: Trading Nations never fight for Conquest, It is PEACE we fight for, and it is the Exorbitance of any one Branch of the Power in Europe, that we fight against, because it is Destructive to the Peace and Safety of the rest; We found it in *France*, and in the House of *Bourbonne*, and therefore we fall upon it there; if we find it in *Germany* or *Spain*, in the House of *Austria*, or in any other House, we must fight with it there—For all Exorbitant Power is the Enemy of Europe's Peace.

To take then this Exorbitant Power from the House of *Bourbonne*, and give it into the Hands of the House of *Austria*; to pull it down in *France*, and set it up in *Germany*, this is doing nothing at all; it is pulling down with one Hand, and building up with t'other—It cost Europe 40 Years War, and an infinite Expence of Blood and Treasure once before, to pull down the *Austrian*

Greatness and Power, which was reduc'd to a happy Balance, at the Treaty of *Westphalia*, Anno 1648. It has cost Europe above 20 Years War, and the like Expence of Blood and Treasure, to pull down the *French* Greatness, which was grown Exorbitant; And shall we set up the same Monster in *Germany* again, which worried Europe so long before?

Glorious is the Wisdom of Providence, in all its Dealings with Men! and in this especially conspicuous; That now we come to Recognize the Wisdom the Necessity, and the Policy of the Treaty of Partition made by King *William*, which I say the less tophere, because I purpose to speak at large to it by itself; but to return to the Case.

The Article of the Grand Alliance, says expressly, The *Spanish* Dominions shall never come into the Possession of the *French*, so as the same Person shall be King of *France* and *Spain* at the same Time: I make no Question, had the Emperor been dead at that Time, they would have said the same Thing in that Treaty, of the Emperor of *Germany*—Now that Accident has happened, I see nothing so happy for Europe, as a good PARTITION, that neither Side may possess that Crown, which will make either Side too strong for the rest of Europe.

And thus, I think, I have defended what I said before; for I hope, as my Principles are steady, and all of a piece, so shall all I say from them on these Things be, and I scorn to be, in these Things, in the Discretion of any Man.

But now what shall we say, when we come to the Great Decision of the Partition itself?—Who and who shall have Which and which?—For my part, I'll shoot one Bolt at it, tho' I run the Risk of the Proverb; I put the manner of the Partition upon two several Fundamentals.

1. The Partition must be made so, as may Establish a due Balance of Power.



2. It must be so made, as must suit the Support and Security of the Commerce of these Nations, which make it, TO and FROM the *Spanish* Dominions.

As to the *Balance of Power*, I leave that to a Head by itself.

As to the Security of our Commerce, no *Partition* can secure it, by the meer Consequence of the Thing, without especial Provision for it; it must be fix'd by a *Tar-riff*, or a Treaty of Commerce, to be made a part of the *General Treaty*; there are Conditions of Trade, with which, for my part, I would not care two Farthings who had *Spain*, I mean *Old Spain* now; there are others, in which, without *Old Spain*, your whole Trade will be lost, and there are others, with which, tho' you have *Old Spain*, your Trade may be interrupted, and in the End, Ruin'd.

Thus, I say, we are to distinguish what we Understand by the Word *Spain*, either as the particular Kingdom of *Spain*, or as the whole *Spanish* Monarchy: In the last Sense, it cannot, without Ruin of all, be given up to King *Philip*, nor do I see the least Reason to think, any such Thought ever enter'd into the Hearts of any, the Rankest, and most implacable Tory in the Nation.

If a Peace is now Transacting, as we hope it is; What Reason some People think they have to suggest, that it shall be Unsafe, Dishonourable, Separate, without our Allies, &c. I know not; I am in hopes they speak without Book — The Author says I am *too insensible* Secret; I am sure I am let into no such Secret, nor do I desire to be — If any are in a Plot, for such I should call it, to give us up to *France*, to make a Peace without the Concert of the Allies, to give up the Monarchy of *Spain*, and to Ruin our Commerce, I say of them, as the Text, *Enter not into their Secret O my Soul!* I know nothing of it, if I did, I would be the first to oppose it.

But hitherto, all the appearances of a Treaty, are carried on, as far as I see, in

Concert with the *Dutch*; the Earl of *Strafford*; Her Majesty's Plenipotentiary, who, we are told carries a Draught of the Propositions on both Sides, Whether does he carry them? I do not say he carries them at all, but if he carries them any where, Is it not to the *Dutch*? — Do we hear the *Dutch* complain that they are left out? Or not Consulted with? Or that they do not like the Articles? Do you think they would not Complain if it was otherwise? — Surely, till I hear they are uneasy and dissatisfy'd, till I see something Fatal is agreed on, it is but Just, that we believe every Man a just Man, till something appears to the contrary; I'll never say the *Dutch* are left out, till I find they complain; I'll never believe we are making a Dishonourable Clandestine Treaty, till I find it so.

But it is the Language of the Times, say they, that we shall give up *Spain*; Why then I live out of the World, and out of the Times, for 'tis not the Language of the Times, that I hear, except you will have it be, as I say, that it is the Jealousie of the Times, and I will be as jealous as any Body when I see Reason; and he that will be so, before he sees Reason, is so to do Mischief, and is no Man for me.

It is very unhappy, that we must talk of Peace with so little Peace in our Scile, but it can be no otherwise; when People throw Stones in the Dark, and attack me with the Notions of other Men, they must be answer'd in their own Way — If it be the Language of the Times, that no safe Peace can be made without giving up the *Spanish* Monarchy — What if a safe Peace should be made without it? Then the Times, as he calls it, would be ashamed of that Language, and I hope we shall live to see it.

But suppose we understand *Spain* only in a limited Sense, for the meer Kingdom of *Old Spain*, What then may our Enquirer say?

To this I Answer two Ways.

1. I am far from believing that no safe Peace can be made, without giving up *Spain*; and could we get it in our Possession,



session, I do not believe any Minister of State in Britain would be for parting with it.

2. But neither will I be so positive as to say, that on the Foot of a Partition, no safe Peace can be made, without keeping it; for if that should be so, and we should never Master it, as for ought I see is very doubtful, we should be in a very bad Condition, for it would be a hard Case that we could have no safe Peace, without keeping what we cannot get.

But this is a nice Case, and therefore I shall handle it with great Caution. I know the Zeal of some People will fire at the very Word ——— I'll state it as clear as I can.

Two Things must be secur'd by a Peace, I mean relating to England, besides the Balance of Power which respects the whole Confederacy.

1. The Protestant Succession.
2. The British Commerce to the Spanish Dominions.

If these are not secur'd, no Peace can be Safe or Honourable; If these are secur'd, any Peace is so: Let these be fully, and to our Conviction secur'd, I'll neither Enquire what's given up, or what is retain'd; If these are not effectually secur'd, tho' you had Spain and all the Spanish Dominions, you have made both War and Peace to no purpose.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

**I**F The Gentleman who sent a Letter to the Author of this Paper Sign'd E. G. with ten Heads or Particulars, relating to the Affair of the Peace, and of the present Transactions or Negotiations enter'd upon towards such a Treaty, will be pleas'd to give the Author reasonable Assurance of the Truth of Facts, or give him leave to know who he is, that he may know on whose Credit he Publishes the same, they shall be improv'd and Communicated as he desires.

**T**HIS is to give Notice, That Messieurs Brook and Bellier of London, Merchants, who do now give such general Satisfaction in Retailing their New Natural Portugal Wines in the said City, (being the best that have come from Portugal for many Years past) have for the more effectual supplying the other Parts of the Kingdom, caus'd Ships to Sall directly from Portugal to the following Places, where they are Arriv'd with the like Natural Wines, being the only New Wines that are

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**JOHN** Gliff Stationer in Queen-Street, near Cheapside, gives Notice, that he hath a Considerable Quantity of all sorts of Playing Cards, bought before the Duty was laid on, and consequently can sell them Cheaper than they that bought since at advanced Prices; is resolv'd not to stay for a better Market, but to sell all sorts at very Reasonable Rates. (2)

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